THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamúsay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-ôm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this and this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order [42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words [43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lawirān búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower state.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buúlún* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *aniwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *taŋtáŋ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúzan* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umáŭnakamí iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulaláxo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúñit*, turn back (*maxulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúñit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balañbán*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaiñgin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 497
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Ewagan, *Jimalingan*, *Banwaran*, and *Diaban* are called upon in time of sickness, and *Barangseo* helps one to run away if some enemy is trying to kill him, while *Anglabang* will help him kill his enemy. *Lecay* kills other *anitos*. 776

Among the evil *anitos Pungal* is best known and most feared. He causes sickness and death. People always obey him. *Ademat* also gives a fatal illness; while *Kapunan* gives sudden death by hemorrhage. *Anguan* hunts men with dogs and gives one a headache from which he may die. *Dangquico*, *Makel*, and *Kilang* move the winds that kill instantly. 776 753 [82]

Kakayan teaches and tempts people to do evil, and *Anlabbang* causes quarrels; while *Duman* steals beads. *Darantan* lives in the river and is the one who makes a person drown. *Aliang* lives along the streams and entices small children away. Occasionally one see his peculiar foor prints in the sand. *Wirwer* digs up the dead corpse and eats it. 776

There are also various ghosts, giants, and fairies. *Balongobangs* are evil revivals of the dead corpses who cannot bend their legs. They catch people and tear them to bits. One can tell them at night by their nauseous bad odor. Then is the time to run away from that place quicker than possible.

The *Gaggag* are giants who live in the forest and can make themselves into animals. If one even says their name, they will rush out and kill him. They have green blood in their bodies and red blood is only in their heads. So one must hit a *Gaggag* in the head in order to kill him.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas*, who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.